

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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## CONTENTS.

### EDITORIAL:

The British Budget and the Land Question.....	481
The Political Significance of the British Budget.....	482
Producer and Consumer.....	483
Workingmen and Employers.....	483
Butcher and Hunter.....	484
Imperialism for Porto Rico.....	484

### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:

The British Budget (Frederic C. Howe).....	486
--	-----

### INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS:

A Far Shout of Rejoicing (G. Hughes).....	486
---	-----

### NEWS NARRATIVE:

The British Budget.....	487
The British Labor Party.....	488
The Tariff in Congress.....	489
Anti-Imperialist Resolution in Regard to the Phil- ippine Tariff .....	490
A Mexican Manifesto.....	490
Chicago Harbor Rights.....	491
Another Commission-Government Charter.....	491
Conference on the Status of the Negro.....	492
The Liberian Commission.....	492
Native Franchise in South Africa.....	492
In the Russian Douma.....	493
A Memorial for Max Hirsch.....	493
Young Turks Justify Their Public Executions.....	493
The French Strike .....	493
News Notes .....	494
Press Opinions .....	494

### RELATED THINGS:

The Old Vine Street Church (W. S. Rogers).....	497
Max Hirsch .....	497
Free Trade Scientific (Byron W. Holt).....	499
Old Tom Harder Remarks That— (Geo. V. Wells).....	499

### BOOKS:

Business Economics .....	500
Periodicals .....	501

## EDITORIAL

### The British Budget and the Land Question.

The better the British budget (pp. 457, 462, 487) gets to be understood, the clearer does its beneficent character come out. It is indeed what Henry George looked for hopefully and predicted confidently, the first great legislative step in England toward the socialization of social values and the consequent emancipation of labor. No doctrinaires of any economic school, not even of the best, could have formulated the issue so perfectly for immediate political victory and subsequent radical progress.

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What the Bannerman ministry tried for—and all that it tried for as the first move in this connection—a measure for the appraisal of the capital value of land throughout Great Britain, has been demanded through this budget in a way that hardly admits of a negative response. The House of Lords thwarted the Bannerman ministry. But the Asquith ministry, profoundly loyal to the principles which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman bequeathed it, now challenges the Lords with a baffling alternative. They must either burden hopelessly the class-conscious political party that champions their privileges, or grant through the Lloyd-George budget the very land valuations which they defiantly amended out of the Campbell-Bannerman valuations bill (vol. xi, p. 38). This is the most important phase of the present land value agitation in England. If the budget

had proposed nothing more, it would have proposed enough for all the immediate practical purposes of progressive legislation.

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There is therefore no reason for disappointment at the low, and in some respects discriminating, taxes which the budget imposes upon land values. While they do not bear every test of sound economic doctrines, they do bear the supreme test of practical politics for the realization of such doctrines. In the right economic direction, they are along the line of least political resistance.

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To secure through the budget the primary desideratum, a thorough valuation of the capitalized land values of the kingdom, it was necessary to impose some land value taxes; to minimize resistance, it was important to make those taxes light, and to let them fall where they would excite the least effective opposition. This has been done with the skill of high statesmanship and the fidelity of the best social leadership. Upon the adoption of the Lloyd-George budget the legislative roots of land value socialization will have been planted, and in the very nature of things it will thenceforth grow. Hardly an exaggeration is the cable comment of T. P. O'Connor, in which he says that this is a budget that no one could have dreamed of as possible until "some avowed supporter of the Henry George single tax idea held the position of chancellor."

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#### **The Political Significance of the British Budget.**

Six months ago public opinion in Great Britain anticipated an early fall of the Asquith ministry and the return to power of the party of reaction and privilege. Nor did this feeling slacken until Lloyd-George flung into the political arena what the London Nation truly describes as the first democratic budget of English history. Until the privileged interests of Great Britain were confronted with that rarely bold and original political challenge, the progressives were discouraged and the reactionaries confident and eager.

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The privileged classes had begun again to feel secure, and demands for further privilege in the name of "protection to British industry" grew clamorous. Free trade, as well as free land and free men, was to be a sacrifice upon the altar of class privilege. And with it all, to charm the plundered multitude and thereby make privilege all the more secure, alarms of war were sounded,

mellowed with promises of "bread and circuses" from the wages of building preparatory Dreadnoughts. The Conservative party, with its Chamberlainistic infusions, was looking confidently for a reactionary revolution in England, which should abolish free trade, establish old privileges more firmly, introduce new ones, and check the advance of the democratic movement in politics. All this has undergone a staggering change as the full meaning of the Lloyd-George budget has worked its way into the public mind.

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There is now a piteous tone to the comments of the Conservative press of Great Britain, so recently exultant; and the speeches of the more intelligent Conservative leaders are like the hysterical cries of children lost in a wood. They appear dazed by the reaction which the Lloyd-George budget has produced. Their policy of protection, which seemed so near, has faded away. The policy of free trade, which seemed to totter, is erect and stalwart. The privileges of landlordism, which seemed to have gained new life, are once more tremulous with infirmity. The eager confidence of the Conservative party has given way to unconcealed and unconcealable demoralization. Not only is the Lloyd-George budget the most democratic in English history. It is also the most tremendous political maneuver of modern times in any country.

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By conceding the demand for Dreadnoughts, but charging the expense to the privileged interests that demanded them, the Lloyd-George budget has silenced the alarms of war. By pointing to the necessity for old age pensions and their good effect, and indicating the further necessity for opening opportunities of normal and useful employment for the unemployed, at the same time providing for the expense by a trifling exaction from unearned wealth, this budget has politically gagged the privileged in the very utterance of their protest. They may curse among themselves, but they cannot hope for sympathy from the masses. By specifying land values caused by the community as a whole and not by landlords individually, as a just source of public revenues, this budget turns protectionism backwards, and guarantees free trade against the only danger that has threatened it—apparent needs for further revenues from indirect taxation. By making light the immediate taxes upon land values, and so distributing them that they will fall upon the over-rich, this budget has forced the great landlords into a

position where they will either have to submit to "the thin end of the wedge" of land value socialization, or make themselves sordidly ridiculous by exposure to public opinion as selfishly seeking to perpetuate complete exemption from taxation upon their socially produced property. By providing for national valuations of the lands of the whole kingdom, with a heavy tax upon future increases in value caused by social growth, this budget has firmly laid the foundation for a social superstructure in Great Britain that may make that country truly free—the world's model of democracy.

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Exemption from taxes on industry, land values socialized for public uses, free trade with all the world both within and without the Empire, and the exploitation of labor abolished—these are among the reasonable possibilities to come from the adoption of the Lloyd-George budget.

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It is because they are reasonable possibilities that the privileged interests will consolidate to break the budget down. For the same reason the British democracy ought to unite to secure its adoption. The London Nation, a rationally socialistic paper, struck the true note for all schools and shades and parties and factions of progressives in Great Britain when in its issue of May 1 it said of the budget scheme that—

the Chancellor of the Exchequer may fairly call on every democratic force in the nation for sustained and undivided support. He will have united the "interests" against him by a comprehensive and fearless attack. He must unite the enthusiasms and principles behind him. Whatever there is of democratic ardor among our people, whatever feeling there be for national improvement, if there be any compunction for the lot of the poor, and any joy in the building up of a strong, vigorous, and united nation—all such forces, laying aside mutual controversy and nice preferences of detail, must rally in their supreme effort to enforce the will of democracy or write themselves down forever barren of good.

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### Producer and Consumer.

From the tariff debates in the Senate, it would appear that the only human interests are those of the producer. We hear of foreign producers "invading" the market of American producers, as if this market were a pasture field without a fence. But the American market consists of American consumers, and its "invasion" means that foreign producers supply them with some things in exchange for other things, on better terms than American producers do. This is an "invasion"

that looks good to the American consumer. If it didn't, the foreigner couldn't "invade." But the interests of the American consumer are not recognized in the American Senate. He is regarded there as the natural prey of American producers. Consequently a tax is to be put upon his purchases from foreign producers so that he will be glad enough to purchase from American producers at exorbitant prices. And who are these American consumers? Why, except as they steal (either vulgarly or according to law), or beg (either in rags from want or in velvet with greed), they are also producers. In the very nature of the case, then, you cannot protect them as producers without robbing them as consumers.

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### Workingmen and Employers.

It is unfortunate that the existing employers' organizations are so deeply impregnated with the spirit of monopoly and so completely given over to class bitterness, as to make friendly intercourse between them and labor organizations impossible.

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The interests of unprivileged employers and the interests of hired workingmen are really identical. They are identical not only with reference to the narrow relation of employer and employe, but with reference also to the wider and more general relation of buyer and seller. It is only the beneficiaries of special privileges that are essentially inimical to either. Yet beneficiaries of special privileges, masquerading as legitimate business men, and often in some degree really legitimate business men, dominate the existing employers' organizations, and while playing their own predatory game with their innocent associates, fan the flame of class hatreds by constantly emphasizing instances of exasperating methods of labor organizations.

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Labor organizations do resort to bad methods—"damnable methods," as the National Association of Manufacturers, assembled on the 17th in New York, expressed it in the words of one of their members and with cheers from the rest. But so do employers' organizations resort to "damnable methods." The National Association of Manufacturers itself is no exception. Human nature explains it all. And those "damnable methods" are not to be improved by the irreconcilables and impossibilists of either set of organizations. It is indeed to be said for labor organizations that they are on the whole better disposed than the employers' organizations under present control.

What the best interest of both employer and hired man requires—those of both classes who earn their own living—is that they get together on the basis of a genuine purpose to do the fair thing all round. There would be no difficulty, so far as the labor organizations are concerned, for they for the most part want to be fair. As a mass they are composed of fair minded men and women; more so in dealing with employers' organizations, candor compels us to say, than employers' organizations are in dealing with them. Neither would there be any difficulty so far as the employers' organizations are concerned, if the membership in general would put aside such influence as their own little special privileges may exert, and close their ears to the unfair suggestions of overbearing monopolists among them. Employers' organizations that wanted only a square deal with workingmen would find no other difficulty in co-operating with labor organizations upon a basis of justice, than the difficulty which they themselves have fostered—the difficulty that would naturally arise from distrust by labor organizations of the good faith of employers' organizations.

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Isn't the time nearly at hand for employers' organizations to take a more considerate view of labor organizations? Hasn't the day for vituperation gone by? Are there not enough fair minded men in the employers' organizations to turn them back from their monopolistic tendencies and toward friendly intercourse with workingmen? What if it should prove for a time that the labor organizations won't respond in the same spirit? Isn't the responsibility upon the employers, considering their greater opportunities for cultivating the amenities of life? Let them set an example before they condemn workingmen for spurning it. And first let them oust their own monopolists.

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#### **Butcher and Hunter.**

Minnie Maddern Fiske is to be credited with an exceptionally keen criticism of those strenuous men who enjoy killing things. One finds it difficult to think of a brutal-minded and bloody-handed pig sticker as noble; but Mrs. Fiske thinks him nobler than the hunter. For "the hunter owns to a thrill of rapture as his bullet pierces the plumage of the bird or tears through the heart of the doe;" whereas "we may at least say of the butcher that he is indifferent." Mrs. Fiske evidently lacks the strenuous element. She seems to appreciate none of that joy of living which

springs from demonstrations of skill in killing. Her ideals are commonplace, or she would not thus contrast the exuberant joy of the hunter with the stolid indifference of the butcher. She should rather inspire the butcher with the joy of the hunter, and thereby elevate the bloody monotony of his daily grind to the higher levels of sanguinary passion. Think of the ordinary butcher, what he might be if his indifference to killing were but turned to enthusiasm! He might find ebullient joy, as hunters have done, not only in killing hogs, but possibly in killing men. Many of us little realize how much of life is lost to those who view it in sentimental ways. Yet there does seem to be sense in Mrs. Fiske's notion. May it not indeed be true that he who slaughters stolidly for food is less ignoble than he who slaughters enthusiastically for fun? Nay, nay; let us put her evil notion aside. Such teachings threaten the manhood of our nation. They are calculated to make molycoddles of us all. One skillful in epithet might almost venture to characterize them as immoral.

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#### **IMPERIALISM FOR PORTO RICO.**

If any one principle of popular self government is more securely imbedded in American tradition than any other, it is the principle that the people's representatives shall hold the public purse strings.

This is of the very essence of popular government. For if public expenditures may be made without the consent of the representatives of the people to be taxed, then those people can be taxed without their consent and be consequently governed by arbitrary power.

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Precisely this is what the Stuarts tried to do at a critical period in English history.

Asserting the divine right of kings to govern "their people," they undertook to levy taxes directly and without the consent of the people's representatives in Parliament. It was his resistance to this usurpation that opened an historical career to John Hampden. It was Charles I's insistence upon it that lost him his head.

Since those days, the British Constitution has necessitated appropriations by the Commons as the unalterable condition of levying taxes.

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And we of this country have inherited that Constitutional principle.

Our war for independence was waged upon it. The founders of this Republic identified their cause with the tradition of British freedom

that there shall be no taxation except such as is authorized by the representatives of the people to be taxed.

Following further the unwritten Constitution of Great Britain on this point, our written Constitutions, Federal and State, provide not only that taxation and expenditures shall be subject exclusively to the legislature, but also that all revenue bills shall originate in the most popular branch.

There is no escape from the conclusion that the American doctrine of popular government, inherited from Great Britain as one of the results of the long struggle for Anglo Saxon liberty, against foes without and foes within, demands that the representatives of the people to be taxed—they alone, and not only alone, but in their uncoerced discretion, subject only to popular approval,—shall appropriate the revenues that are or are to be derived from taxation.

To deny this is to deny a vital principle of self government. To neglect it in a conflict with arbitrary power is indicative of some incapacity for self government. To assert it in defense of popular rights is evidence of qualification for self government.

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President Taft's attitude toward Porto Rico (p. 467) must therefore be an event of peculiar interest to all self governing peoples.

Presumably he cherishes the old British and American tradition. Presumably he honors Hampden for his resistance to fiscal usurpation. Presumably he regards those provisions of American Constitutions which give the representatives of the people to be taxed absolute control over appropriations, as a sheet anchor of American liberty. It is not to be supposed that a President of the United States would tolerate the thought of depriving Congress or any State legislature of the power to coerce an executive by withholding appropriations, no matter to what degree the power might have been abused. As a Constitutional lawyer, and therefore presumably a student of the history of American liberty and the Anglo Saxon liberties out of which it sprung, it is inconceivable that he, though a Hamiltonian, though an imperialist since the Spanish war, though a colonial administrator, would abrogate the one power by which the people can guard their rights against oppression—the power of making or withholding appropriations at their own will.

Yet President Taft has solemnly asked Congress to do this very thing with reference to the Porto Ricans.

Over those people we are exercising autocratic power. We name their executive, and though we let them elect their legislature we authorize the executive to veto its legislation. Nevertheless we have accorded to the Porto Ricans the mild but effective protection against usurpation which the British Parliament revived in the time of Charles I, to which our own States appealed in colonial days, and which is embodied in all our Constitutions—the power, namely, of withholding appropriations when an arbitrary executive vetoes popular legislation.

This right of self government has now been exercised by the people's representatives in Porto Rico. They have said, as the British Commons said to Charles I, and as the American Colonies said to George III, If we may not make laws which our constituents demand, we will not authorize their taxation.

What the proposed laws were is not clearly reported. But whatever they were, the people's representatives have acted in accordance with the best precedents to be found in the history of popular self government.

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Yet President Taft cites this action of the Porto Ricans to prove that they are "too irresponsible" to enjoy the power of making or withholding appropriations.

That is what Charles I thought of the Commons of England. That is what George III said of the colonial legislatures of what is now the United States. That is what baffled autocratic power always says or thinks of stubborn democracy.

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Probably President Taft does not realize his offense against the best traditions of popular government. Influenced by a temporary dilemma of colonial administration, he has, thoughtlessly perhaps, taken the autocratic short cut to a solution, not appreciating its reactionary significance. All the worse. An intentional attack from such a source would mean no more than that a traitor to popular self government had got himself for a little while into power. There would be no danger in that. But when the head of a self governing republic thoughtlessly strikes it in a vital spot, not realizing that the spot is vital, because his mind has become accustomed to a tendency away from self government, then we have a danger sign.

That such a man as President Taft should in this way propose the destruction of so much of self government as he has found the Porto Ricans in possession of, is full of sinister meaning. It

indicates the distance we have drifted away from our racial and national ideals of self government and the traditional guards against autocracy, since the advent of that policy of American imperialism with which Mr. Taft's distinguished career began.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE BRITISH BUDGET\*.

London, May 3, 1909.

While the Liberal budget, introduced by Lloyd George, April 29th, disappoints some of the radical single-taxers in this country, it really marks a revolution in British politics. For it recognizes the difference between land and other forms of wealth, and begins the appropriation by society of that which society itself has created.

Socialists, Radicals, Liberals and Conservatives, alike recognize the real significance of the proposals. No one is deceived into believing that this is merely an emergency proposal. It is "the thin edge of the wedge" of land nationalization.

Even Lloyd-George recognized the evils of land monopoly and its blighting effect upon industry and life in his budget speech. He frankly said: "The growth in value of urban sites is due to no expenditure of capital or thought on the part of the ground owner, but is entirely owing to the enterprising energy of the community." Then he went on to show how the healthy development of cities is strangled by land monopolists who withhold land from use in the hope of a speculative rise. He later said: "If the landlord insists on being a dog in the manger, he must pay for his manger."

The budget proposes to value all the land in Great Britain.

This is the revolutionary element in the budget. It is not three kinds of taxes which are estimated to yield only \$2,500,000 a year; it is the valuation of the naked, unimproved land of the kingdom that marks this budget as a revolutionary proposal, and lays the foundation for the local as well as the imperial taxation of land values.

The Tory land owners might accept the taxes with a protest. They will writhe in apprehension to see their land valued and its colossal proportions held up before the community as a treasure to be still further tapped by the towns.

They may reject the budget altogether, although this has not been attempted for centuries, and all the traditions of the British Constitution repose the budgetary power in the Commons. But the House of Lords is a house of landowners, and they may be willing, Samson-like, to bring down the Constitution itself about their ears rather than see their dear privileges touched.

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In brief, the budget provides for—

(1) A tax of 20 per cent on the increment of value accruing to land in the future from the growth of the community. This tax of 20 per cent

\*See The Public of May 7, pp. 434, 443; of May 14, pp. 458, 462, 472; and of May 21, pp. 481, 487, 494.

is to be taken on transfer, death, sale, or otherwise. It is not an annual tax, and is expected to yield \$250,000 the first year.

(2) A tax of one half-penny on the pound (equivalent to an ad valorem rate of two mills) to be imposed on the capital value of the land. The same rate is to be imposed on mineral lands. This tax, however, is limited to land which is undeveloped, or is not used to its best advantage. It does not apply to land of less than \$250 per acre, and really exempts agricultural land altogether.

(3) A duty of 10 per cent upon the value which accrues to the landlord on the reversion of a lease. Almost all of the land of Great Britain is held under lease for long periods of time with the provision that all improvements revert to the landlord on the termination of the lease. This tax aims to take 10 per cent of the improvement value as well as the increase in land values, which revert back to the large landowners when the leases fall in.

These form the land tax proposals. They are not the proposals of The United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, which stood for a straight tax of a penny in the pound on all the land in the United Kingdom. This would have produced from one to two hundred million dollars, whereas the budget proposals will yield less than three million dollars. But the valuation will be secured.

Hereafter it will be easy to impose a straight tax upon pure land values for local and Imperial purposes. Propaganda will be greatly simplified and the movement will have a firm foundation, in that a demonstration will have been made of the possibility of valuing land separate and apart from improvements, which the Conservatives have insisted could not be done.

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This is a revolutionary budget.

It is impossible to attribute its achievement to any one man. The seed sown by Henry George has been growing during the past quarter of a century and has gradually infiltrated into the public consciousness. But from a three weeks' stay in England and rather close contact with the radical movement, I think it is fair to say that the movement has been invigorated and crystallized into form by the work of Joseph Fels, who has not only given unsparingly of his time, but has promoted by every conceivable means a general knowledge of the taxation of land values and made it a practical political programme.

FREDERIC C. HOWE.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### A FAR SHOUT OF REJOICING.

Topeka, Kan., May 15, 1909.

My Dear Public:—I am always delighted to see you; to-day you bring me information which renders that famous song, the "Nunc Dimittis," even more enlightening. I hear it, "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation";—there is the organ and the voices of those Pure Democrats. Our religion, the real "id quod religat," that which binds, is beginning to prevail. I am transported to the Strand, where is the

church. I see Berens and Verinder, Crompton and Harry Davies, Headlam and Wedgwood and many others, and I hear their quiet rendering, in the lull before the storm, of "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation." I feel with them the significance of that clear expression in that "best of all clubs," the House of Commons: "Is it too much, is it unfair, is it unequitable that Parliament should demand a special contribution from these fortunate owners, towards the defense of the country and the social needs of the unfortunate in the community whose efforts have so materially contributed to the opulence which they are enjoying?" That this has been said, that taxation on land values has now a concrete expression in England's Parliament, is to have seen the beginning of her salvation. Truly the fighting will be fierce; all the Pure Democrats and all the Fels and other dollars will be needed and must be kept untiringly active. But win or lose, sink or swim, there is no receding from this grand step upwards—the Budget of 1909.

My heart laughs. That I am an ass, that I cannot easily exchange my time and effort for wealth to satisfy my family's needs, that I cannot impress upon others the natural laws which are so clear to me, are matters of no importance. For, in the English Parliament, at which all the world looks with attention, there has clearly been advocated a commencement of enforcing that natural law which proves the almightiness of the Creator: That the value in the earth should be taken for all its inhabitants who create this value; and that to take this natural source of revenue is neither unfair nor inequitable.

Yes, my heart laughs. It is indeed a baby beginning—this half-penny in the pound, this 20 per cent of future rises in land value, to pay for increase of navy and old age pensions. But I have had babies born to me, and I have seen them grow lustily, attended by their nurse-mother. Shall not this baby grow into a full-sized Messiah, gradually replacing the silver-spoon rich and the helpless, hopeless poor, with inhabitants of England receiving in freedom the just proceeds of the efforts of their God-given faculties? Is there no nurse-mother over there? My heart sings as I hear Ure and Wedgwood, Paul and Berens, Verinder and the Brothers Davies, Headlam and Orr and hosts of others as purely democratic, singing before the approaching conflict: "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Yes, there is a nurse-mother, all right.

That time and effort of mine are not easy to cash, that imagination depicts babies of mine, either hat in hand, with head bowed, craving a chance to use faculties given by God, to work, or ignorantly riding in ennui on the necks of their brother men, signifies nothing to-day. For in an assembly at which all the world looks with attention, there has been proposed a law from which will result conditions that will forever destroy for those who follow and proceed from us, these worries which afflict us today, and blind us to the beauty, perfection and joy of the natural laws of God—the Pure Democracy.

Once upon a time some States united to fight a form of despotism. Through agony and bloody sweat they did prevail. Because they did prevail, democracy in England had thereafter a freer environment in which to grow. For this good gift from those

States which united against despotism, behold, England is making handsome acknowledgment. Though the heart sinks into the valley of "let it go" at times, over the tariff-to-protect-labor farce now being enacted at Washington, though there is great temptation to hate as one listens to farmers opposing without logic a tax upon land values, nevertheless, the Budget of England for 1909 is a long drink, which enforces yelling to those to whom one "may tie to." In the rioting gladness of one's whole being one must sing to them who are also bound by the real ligature, "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

G. HUGHES.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date. ♣

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Week ending Tuesday, May 18, 1909.

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### The British Budget.

Cable news of the progress of the British budget (p. 462) through the House of Commons is meager and not very enlightening. The latest report is to the effect that on the 17th the House adopted the income tax additions of the budget by a vote of 299 to 66.

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By mail it is learned that the budget was received by the United Committee on the Taxation of Land Values, which has its headquarters at London, with some reserve. At the first meeting of that committee, after the presentation of the budget, the following resolution was adopted:

That while reserving detailed criticism of the taxation proposals made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer until definite information is available, this committee welcomes the decision announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the budget statement "to provide machinery for a complete valuation on a capital basis of the whole of the land in the United Kingdom," but expresses regret that the budget does not contain a proposal for a uniform and general tax on land values.

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In the House of Commons the debate on the budget began on the 3rd, according to the English newspapers just at hand, with an attack by the Conservative leader, Mr. Balfour. Commenting on the land tax, he declared he did not believe that there was the smallest proof that land was being held up to the injury of the community. The Ministry were taxing in this case, he said, not in-

come, but hopes and expectations which might never be realized. They were injuring everybody who possessed land, and frightening everybody who wanted to purchase it. Henry George, said he, with great emphasis on the "Henry," held that the possession of land was robbery. That was perfectly logical. But his great namesake, Lloyd George, was not acting on any clear and consistent principle. Among the replies to Balfour's speech was one by Winston Churchill, which is described as effective and brilliant. He poured a stream of ridicule and argument on the reasons given by Mr. Balfour for opposition to the tax on undeveloped land. The Ministry, he said, did not regard land as private property in the strict sense of that word; and the Opposition, who were constantly demanding larger expenditure, were not in a condition to resist these proposals for taxation. A reputation for patriotism was surely cheaply earned, he argued, by clamoring for ships that were not wanted, to be built by money which was to come from other people. In the course of the debate on the 4th, Lord Robert Cecil made for the land owners the plea that though they are rich they are a small and powerless class and should be gently dealt with in the matter of taxation; to which Sir Charles Dilke retorted, amid laughter and cheers, that this "powerless class" controlled exclusively one House and possessed no inconsiderable influence in the other. Lloyd George answered his critics on the same night, reminding them that their own party in Germany, the Conservative party there, had proposed to meet the German increase of expenditure by a tax on the unearned increment of land, to which the Conservative party in England were so strenuously objecting. On the 5th a Labor party member, Philip Snowden, who is a socialist, replied to the Conservative denunciations of the budget as socialistic, by explaining socialism, and saying that while the budget did not go far enough he was satisfied with it as far as it went. Mr. Snowden was followed by the Prime Minister, to whom Austen Chamberlain replied, after which closure of general debate was carried on motion of Lloyd George, by a majority of 107, as was reported last week by cable. The Labor party and the Irish Nationalists voted with the Conservatives against closure. Since this closure of general debate the items of the budget have been under daily consideration.

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#### The British Labor Party.

Reports by mail clarify the dispatches from London of several weeks ago (p. 396) to the effect that the Independent Labor party had adopted socialist resolutions and that Keir Hardie and others had consequently resigned from the administrative council of the party. We gather the facts from the London Labour Leader of April 16.

The 17th annual conference of the party had met at Edinburgh on the 10th of April. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M. P., presided. On the 12th, Mr. Grayson, the suspended Socialist member of Parliament (vol. xi, p. 712), moved to refer back a clause in the report of the national administrative council, as reflecting unjustly upon him. His motion was carried by 217 to 194. In consequence of this vote all the members of the council resigned and refused re-election. J. Ramsay Macdonald was the first to declare their purpose. He said he had been entrusted with a painful duty by the national administrative council, who after a meeting had instructed him to make a statement to the conference. They had had a trying time, he said, for the last twelve months owing to the growth of a movement of irresponsibility in the party. It was an impossibilist movement, unfair to the Parliamentary members of the party. Speaking for himself, and of his own determination, he absolutely declined to associate himself with the spirit of irresponsibility, its modes of expression, and its methods of bringing about socialism. For his colleagues and himself he said that the incidents in that movement which made it definite were referred to in the paragraphs of the report which the conference referred back. It was not the decision to refer back the paragraphs that had made the national administrative council take the action they had taken. It was the source and antecedents of that event that had to be considered. The national administrative council understood that the conference thought to establish peace. Honestly they believed that, but the gateway through which they approached peace was in the form of a vote of censure upon those who were carrying out the party's policy. The conference did not mean that, but a straight censure would have been more self-respecting and more respectful to the members of the national administrative council. He had therefore to announce that the four national members of the administrative council—Mr. Keir Hardie, M. P.; Mr. Philip Snowden, M. P.; Mr. Bruce Glasier, and himself—did not see their way to remain members of the council during the next twelve months. As private members of the party they would spend all the energies they could spare in building up the party upon its old lines and in seeing that the Independent Labor party at the end of the coming year would be much truer to its first faith in spirit and in method than it had been during the last twelve months.

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The offensive action was reversed and a resolution of confidence with a request that the resignations be withdrawn was adopted. In response to this action Mr. Hardie said that they had been regarded as limpets clinging to the rock of office. Members present and a section of the Socialist

press had put forward that statement. He declared also that towards the end of last year the biggest effort was made to sever the Labor party alliance and to disrupt the Independent Labor party; and that Grayson was being used by others who were more unscrupulous than himself. Mr. Hardie stated further that they had to consider if they were officially to put the machinery of the party at the disposal of those who would carry disruptive tactics right through the party. The trouble with Grayson, he explained, was that success had come to him too easily, and that he was surrounded by malign influences which would ruin his career. Grayson, Hyndman, and Blatchford, he continued, had refused to appear on the same platform with him, and the fact had gone abroad that he had lost the confidence of the movement. Self-respect demanded that a stand should be made. He valued the opinion expressed by the conference. He would like it sent down to all the branches, especially to those where there was that small, snarling, semi-disruptive element. They must fight that down, and if need be fight it out. With his colleagues he was going to test the question whether the Independent Labor party was to stand for the consolidation of the working-class movement, or whether, departing from the lines of sanity, they should follow some chimera called socialism and unity, spoken of by men who did not understand socialism and were alien to its very spirit. After a conference between all the members of the council they reported back their united decision to remain out of the council for the coming year. Speaking for them, Mr. Macdonald said that while they were glad that the delegates had expressed their opinion as they had expressed it, his colleagues and himself were unanimously of opinion that the matter they had been discussing was deep-seated, and must be definitely cleared up. As officials they were tied up in defending the policy of the party. It looked as if they were defending their own ideas and wishes. That gave rise to a suspicion strong enough to be uncomfortable for them, and they desired to defend the policy as members of the rank and file until the party had definitely made up their minds how they were to go. If they decided to support the irresponsible policy he could not associate himself with it. His colleagues and himself felt they were doing the best thing for the party and themselves. There was no ill feeling in their minds. There would be no slackening in their support to the party. For the sake of the party and their own self-respect they desired freedom for the next twelve months at least.

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The action of Macdonald, Hardie, Snowden and Glasier relates to a conflict of policies within the party rather than to any particular episode. It is a phase of the controversy within the party which

is inspired by the Social Democratic Federation under the leadership of Hyndman. Referring to this faction after the conference, Mr. Snowden said:

For the last six months I have been firmly convinced that the best thing that could happen to the Independent Labor party would be for the dissentients to leave the party, or, if they won't go of their own accord, then they must choose between being driven out of the party or conforming to its policy and its methods. There is little hope of their doing the latter, for, as Keir Hardie said at the conference, the men who are creating the mischief are alien to the very spirit of unity and of socialism. The Independent Labor party is no place for them. The Independent Labor party is for sane and sober socialists and has no use for frothy demagogues who make up for their entire lack of constructive ability by an extensive vocabulary, and who consider a pre-advertised display of sympathy with the poor to be of more value than years of hard work in their service. The national members of the council could not possibly remain in office after the conference had refused to uphold their action in enforcing discipline, and after it had decisively sided with disruption and disloyalty. It is true that when the conference saw the full significance of its action it tried to make amends. But it was too late. The very fact that the conference could commit such an indiscretion showed that it needed some discipline which would bring it back to a sense of responsibility. The main cause of the present dissension is that the loyal members of the party have not asserted themselves sufficiently. They have allowed the firebrands too much rope and tar. The national council members took the drastic step of resigning and refusing to accept the apologies and the contrition of the conference because it was felt that the time had come when the disruptionists must be dealt with; and they can only be dealt with in the branches. When the old and experienced members of the party realize that the movement is in a critical state, and that drastic action is needed, and that such action must be taken by them, we shall soon see things put right.

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#### The Tariff in Congress.

The Senate still has the tariff bill (p. 466) under consideration and some of the debates of the week have been disturbed by further collisions between "stand pat" and "revisionist" Republicans. Questions of glassware and tea tariffs were most conspicuous on the 11th; and, incidentally, the influence of tariffs upon prices. Senators Scott and Hale argued that the present high retail prices of protected goods have no relation to the tariff. In support of this argument Senator Lodge instanced tea as a commodity which comes into the country at only 16 cents a pound, and yet is retailed for 60 cents. In response Senator McLaurin asserted that a tariff of 10 cents a pound on tea would increase the price to that extent; and Senator Tillman asked: "Why do you Republicans deny that the tariff increases the price, when you have been

telling the people you will not place any burden upon tea?" By way of challenge he added, referring to Senator Hale's argument: "I want to know whether the Senator from Maine will join me to protect the infant tea industry which we have down in South Carolina." An amendment, proposed by Senator Bacon (Democrat), which would have reduced duties on steel and earthenware, was supported only by Senator La Follette among the Republicans. It failed by 25 to 54. On the 12th the debate continued along the same general lines. Also on the 13th, when the principal subject of discussion was the reduction, proposed by the Senate finance committee, of present duties on iron ore, from 40 cents a ton to 25. The lower house had proposed putting it on the free list. Senator Burrows explained in this connection that 56,500 men are employed in producing iron ore, receiving \$31,500,000 in wages, and that their wages would be subjected by the proposed reduction to the competition of the world. The iron ore duty came to a vote on the 13th, when the free list proposal was supported by fourteen Republicans in the Senate: Beveridge, Borah, Bristow, Brown, Burkett, Clapp, Crawford, Cummins, Curtis, Dolliver, Du Pont, Gamble, La Follette, Nelson. But eighteen Democrats, some influenced by their respective local interests and others by revenue-tariff principles, voted with the finance committee for a duty of 25 per cent. These were: Bacon, Bailey, Bankhead, Chamberlain, Clay, Daniel, Fletcher, Foster, Frazier, Johnston, McEnery, Martin, Paynter, Simmons, Stone, Taliaferro, Taylor, Tillman. The 25 per cent duty carried by 61 to 24. The tobacco trust was the subject of attack on the 14th. Senator Beveridge (Republican) taking the lead. An amendment offered by Senator McLaurin, exempting from duty a series of farming implements and carpenters' and blacksmiths' tools made of iron and steel, was defeated on the 15th by 52 to 22. The discussions of the 16th bore upon particular items, and, as reported, were of no essential importance. But on the 17th the effort of the finance committee to increase the tariff on common razors from 55 per cent to 100 per cent, on the ground that the German "invasion" of the American razor market has destroyed the razor industry here, brought from Senator Bailey the comment that American protectionists used to complain of free trade England, but now they complain of protection Germany.

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#### Anti-Imperialist Resolution in Regard to the Philippine Tariff.

The following resolution was adopted by the executive committee of the American Anti-Imperialist League (vol. xi, p. 851) at a special meeting in Boston, on the 11th, and has been communicated to Congress (p. 467):

Whereas: It is proposed that Congress shall by enactment lay a tariff on goods entering the Philippine Islands from other countries, without consultation with the Philippine Assembly, a body organized by our own government to represent the Filipino people, such enactment meaning taxation without representation; and

Whereas: It is proposed that the tariff on goods passing between the Philippine Islands and the United States shall be either lowered or abolished; and

Whereas: Every commercial favor between the Philippine Islands and the United States not granted to other countries constitutes a tie which prejudices the independence of the Islands; therefore

Resolved: That the Anti-Imperialist League, through its Executive Committee, recommends respectfully that all reference to the Philippine Islands be stricken out from the tariff bill now under consideration. If, however, any action be taken to modify the Philippine tariff the League urges that as a proper notification to investors in the Philippine Islands under the law, either a promise of independence at a definite period be incorporated as an amendment to any such enactment, or that an amendment may be added thereto directing the Executive to make arrangements looking to the neutralization of the Philippine Islands when their independence shall be declared.

MOORFIELD STOREY,  
President.

ERVING WINSLOW,  
Secretary.

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#### A Mexican Manifesto.

An organizing junta of the Mexican Liberal party, evidently a socialistic organization, issues from San Antonio, Texas, a manifesto, signed by Enrique Flores Magon and Praxedis G. Guerrero, which describes the aims and objects of the Mexican working class movement, and incidentally the political and industrial conditions in Mexico under President Diaz. The more important parts of this manifesto are as follows:

The conditions of the working class in Mexico are different from those in other countries, different because Porfirio Diaz has for years been conspiring with foreign capitalists to build up a system which will create dissension between the Mexican workers and the workers of other lands. He has given vast grants of lands, mineral claims and railroad franchises to foreign capitalists, who on their part have hired foreign managers and foremen for their works, in which the foreign workmen were paid often double the wages allowed the Mexicans for the same class of labor. This crafty system of breeding discord among the workers has made it impossible for the Mexicans in the shops, factories and railroads to organize powerful unions as is done in other lands. The result of this great capitalist conspiracy has been to keep the standard of living in Mexico down to a point of starvation and to make great riches for the foreign friends of Diaz at the expense of the entire Mexican working class. . . . To show with what a lavish hand the Diaz government has enriched the American capitalists, it is only necessary to point out that E. H. Harriman owns 2,500,000 acres of oil

land west of Tampico, that the Hearst interests control in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 acres near the city of Chihuahua, and that the total area of territory now cornered, on the Gulf coast alone, by the joint interests of the Standard Oil and Harriman is over 1,000 miles long by an average of 70 miles in width, running through the richest lands of Mexico. These are but a fragment of the concessions granted by Diaz to American capitalists.

A bloody saturnalia has followed the career of Porfirio Diaz, whose record of killings among his own people is popularly estimated to be over thirty thousand lives. . . . Mexico's revolution is not purely a political revolution—it is a social problem which relates to us directly. We are compelled to meet force with force, for so the tyrant Diaz has decided. We did not seek strife, we were driven to it. We have learned the lesson so ably expressed by a great thinker—"Better a handful of force than a bag of rights." Our program is simple: we do not attempt to realize everything in a day, and so we will begin with the untying of the rope which binds, in order that we may go on to progress. Freedom of the press, speech and education, the right of public assemblage and the turning back to the people of all the great holdings of uncultivated lands; the abolition of capital punishment and the present brutal system of prisons; the abolition of debts which the peons have carried upon their shoulders for many generations, binding them to their masters in practical slavery from birth to death. These reforms are all in the program of the Liberal party. The eight-hour day, a minimum scale of wages, and the right of the people of the Republic to participate in all public questions, is also part of our program. In this fashion the Mexican revolution will open a trench in which will be built a social organism more just, more harmonious with the sentiments of solidarity and love such as will some day rule the world. It is axiomatic that those who work for the individual work for the mass, and that the emancipation of one people shortens the days of the whole world's slavery. Those nations which have attained comparative freedom should not close their eyes to the miseries of the less fortunate; nor should they turn their backs upon a struggle which is for the benefit of all. The armed mercenaries of the Mexican despot drive our countrymen into prisons of torture where life is prolonged merely to make the agony more cruel, and it must be remembered by you that the power to commit these atrocities has been obtained by Diaz, in large part, from his friends, the foreign investors, of whom many come from the United States. But not only in Mexico are we tracked by the police agents; in the United States we are also hunted like wild animals. Mexican homes in this country are entered without warrant, the patriots manacled and hurried to United States jails, while others are secretly taken to the border and delivered into the hands of the waiting rurales. . . . Comrades of the world, read carefully our manifesto and then take such action as will best help the cause of freedom.

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#### Chicago Harbor Rights.

The fact has just become public that on the

26th of February last, the War Department of the United States granted a permit, supplementary to an old and unused franchise from the State of Illinois to the Chicago Dock and Canal Company, for the erection of piers into Lake Michigan along the lake shore within a distance of 1,000 feet north of the mouth of the Chicago river. This permit, however, is explained by the Department as giving no property rights to the company, but only as certifying that its proposed structures would not obstruct navigation or interfere with fishing. But as the submerged lands along these shores are held by the State of Illinois in trust for the City of Chicago, and as the State once chartered the Chicago Dock and Canal Company to build piers, it is feared that the company now possesses property rights with reference to pier construction, unless the non-user of its rights since the State granted them in 1857 may furnish sufficient grounds for revocation. This uncertainty is urged in behalf of legislation empowering the city to construct its own piers and other harbor improvements. What the private company definitely proposes is the construction of three piers, each 2,500 feet long, two of them solely for freight business and one for the accommodation of passengers; the passenger pier to be a three-deck affair, the lower for handling baggage, the middle for passengers, and the third for an amusement pier and an immense convention hall. It also contemplates doing a big lighterage business to and from the piers to wharves, railroad terminals and warehouses, and the operation of a warehouse business near the piers.

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#### Another Commission-Government Charter.

By an overwhelming majority the Colorado Springs charter (p. 315) was adopted by referendum vote on the 11th. This charter was framed and is now adopted pursuant to the recent Colorado law which follows the general lines of the Des Moines law of Iowa (pp. 322, 331). It was framed by a local elective convention, and it confers upon the city absolute and final authority in all municipal matters—legislative, executive and judicial. It is subject to modification in any or all of its provisions by popular vote. It provides for a commission form of government, the elective officers to consist of a mayor and four councilmen, chosen from the city at large; and for division of the administrative powers of the city into five departments—waterworks, finance, public safety, public works and property, and public health and sanitation, presided over respectively by the mayor and four councilmen. All city employes are to be appointed by the mayor on recommendation of the heads of departments. It provides also for an absolute elimination of party politics; for adequate civil service rules; for the recall of any elective officer by special election on petition of 30

per cent of the voters; for initiative and referendum by 15 per cent of the voters, and for submission of all bond issues and franchise grants to popular vote. Other cities in Colorado, notably Grand Junction (p. 373), are proceeding under the same law upon the authority of which this Colorado Springs charter has been adopted.

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#### Conference on the Status of the Negro.

For the purpose of considering the political and economic status of the Negro in the United States, a national conference will be held at New York city on May 31st and June 1st. One meeting, to which the general public is to be admitted, will be held in Cooper Union at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 31st. Judge Wendell P. Stafford of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia will preside at this meeting, and the speakers will include Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Clarence S. Darrow, John Spencer Bassett, J. Milton Waldron and W. E. B. Du Bois. All other meetings of the conference will be held in the hall of the Charity Organization Society, 105 E. 22d street; and, with the exception of the first, beginning at 10 o'clock in the morning, they will be held behind closed doors. The first will be devoted to papers and discussions on race prejudice viewed from a scientific standpoint, by persons specially qualified—Professor Livingston Farrand, Professor Burt G. Wilder, Professor John Dewey, and others. The closed meetings and the discussions thereat are to be as follows: May 31st (afternoon), the civil and political status of the Negro; June 1 (morning), the industrial and educational status of the Negro; June 1 (afternoon), general discussion and business; June 1 (evening), the Negro and the nation. Among the speakers for these subjects are William Lloyd Garrison, Edwin D. Meade, Bishop Walters, Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley, Leslie Pinckney Hill, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Wm. A. Sinclair, Dr. Wm. Buckley, Joseph C. Manning and Ray Stannard Baker. The call for the conference goes out under the signature of William English Walling, as secretary, 21 W. 38th street, New York, and with the endorsement of 57 vice presidents, from New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, District of Columbia, Connecticut, Vermont, Georgia, Ohio, Nebraska, and Wisconsin. Among the vice presidents are William Dean Howells, Thomas C. Hall, Charles E. Russell, Anna Garlin Spencer, Oswald G. Villard and Stephen S. Wise of New York city; Moorfield Storey, Samuel Bowles, Lincoln Steffens, Lewis J. Johnson and Charles Zueblin of Boston; Graham Taylor, Jane Adams, Emil G. Hirsch, Mary E. McDowell, Louis F. Post and Judge Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago; Archibald H. Grimke and Kelly Miller of Washington; Irving Fisher of Yale University,

and John R. Commons of the Wisconsin University.

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#### The Liberian Commission.

The American Liberian Commission (p. 395) arrived at Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, on board the cruiser Chester, on the 12th. The commissioners received a warm welcome, and were accorded unusual honors. The legislature was summoned to convene on the 17th in special session to aid the commission in its labors.

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#### Native Franchise in South Africa.

The proposed draft constitution for a federated South Africa (p. 275) having, as already reported (p. 253), almost entirely excluded the Native population from the franchise, a South African Native Convention assembled at Bloemfontein, March 24, 25 and 26, to discuss the clauses of the draft constitution which related to Natives and Colored people. The convention was composed of delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Bechuana Land. Among the "decisions" of the convention, according to the report in Izwi Labantu, were the following:

1. This Convention recognizes the principle of Union amongst all His Majesty's subjects in the South African colonies to be essential, necessary, and inevitable, the ultimate object of which seeks to promote the future progress and welfare of all.

2. The Imperial Government, of which we are now all loyal citizens interested in, and sharing alike its responsibilities, is bound by both fundamental and specific obligations towards the Natives and Colored races of South Africa to extend to them the same measure of equitable justice and consideration as is extended to those of European descent under the law. It has been well said that the King and the Empire owe good and just government to every class of their subjects, but no such good or just government is possible, where one class is left at the mercy of another class by being absolutely deprived of the right of equal representation, which is a fundamental obligation.

3. This Convention places on record its strong and emphatic protest against the admission of a "color bar" in the Union Constitution as being a real vital basic wrong and injustice, and respectfully pleads that a clause be inserted in the "Charter" providing that all persons within the Union shall be entitled to full and equal rights and privileges, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens without distinction of class, color or creed. The franchise has been enjoyed for more than 50 years by the Native and Colored races of the Cape Colony, but is not extended to the Native and Colored races of Orange River Colony, the Transvaal and the Colony of Natal, and this Convention seriously deprecates the absence, in the said Draft Act, of the principle of equal rights for all the races in the South African Colonies; a principle which was sus-

tained by the leading statesmen of the Country, and which was also the constant motto of the late Cecil John Rhodes, to whom an united South Africa was also an ideal, viz:—"Equal rights for all civilized men from the Cape to the Zambesi."

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#### In the Russian Douma.

A bill for what has been called a "fourth partition of Poland" was introduced into the Douma (p. 471) on the 14th. The bill arranges for taking away from Russian Poland about one-third of the provinces of Lublin and Siedlie, and forming from the territory the new province of Chelm. This new province would have a population of 725,000 persons, and would be attached to Russia proper.

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The Socialists have introduced into the Douma an interpellation which is in effect a terrible indictment of the Russian prisons.

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#### A Memorial for Max Hirsch.

Further information regarding the death of Max Hirsch of Australia (p. 361) is to the effect that he died of cancer of the liver, at Vladivostock, Siberia, while temporarily there on a business mission, and that his ashes after cremation are to be sent for burial to his relatives in Germany. A general committee has been formed at Melbourne to collect subscriptions for a fund to perpetuate his memory by printing and publishing a memorial volume or volumes of his writings and speeches, and founding an endowment for an annual fund for the best essay on the subjects of his teachings. The secretary of this committee is H. R. F. Chomley, A. M. P. Buildings, Collins street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

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#### Young Turks Justify Their Public Executions.

Twenty-four mutineers of the Turkish army and navy were hanged in public within the limits of Constantinople on the morning of the 12th (p. 469). Priests prayed with the condemned men shortly before they were taken to the places of execution and commented upon the evil deeds which had brought them to their deaths. One of the condemned men spoke up and said that all the priests he had talked with on the day of the so-called mutiny and the days following had approved of his action (p. 418). These executions made a total of thirty-eight executions since the revolution of April 13. According to dispatches the courts martial explain these public executions by saying that traditions of corruption have so pervaded Constantinople that had the hangings not been public the people would have thought that the condemned men had saved themselves by bribing officials, or that the statement of their

execution was nothing more than a political lie. Public executions, therefore, were deemed a necessity to show that the guilty had been punished. The fourth son of Abdul Hamid, Burhan Eddin, who was reported to be plotting for an uprising among the Albanians in his father's favor (p. 469), is in the hands of the Constitutionalists.

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#### The French Strike.

The French Chamber of Deputies held a stormy session on the 11th over the questions involved in the disputes between the government and the postal, telephone and railway employes (p. 468). Messrs. Sembat and Willm, Socialists, defended the position of the strikers, affirming their right to organize themselves into a syndicate as the only way of redressing their grievances, and charging the government with failure to keep its promises at the conclusion of the previous strike, especially with regard to the retirement of Mr. Simyan, under secretary of posts and telegraphs. The minister of public works, Mr. Barthou, insisted that neither he nor the Premier, Mr. Clemenceau, had promised Mr. Simyan's dismissal. He produced the official journal as proof of what he had said (pp. 301, 346). Mr. Barthou reaffirmed the government's unalterable opposition to conceding the right of state employes to form a syndicate, as there was no analogy between their case and that of ordinary workmen, who are not protected against stoppage of work and are not guaranteed promotion and pensions in old age. Immediately after the adjournment of the Chamber the Federal Labor Committee issued an order for a general strike. An hour later 6,000 postal employes unanimously voted to strike. Permanent strike and branch committees were created by the Federal committee and delegates were dispatched to the provinces to pursue an active propaganda to make the strike complete. Dispatches were received from many cities announcing the sympathy and support not only of the postal employes, but of the various trades unions. At the session of the Chamber in the 13th great political excitement developed. The Socialists sang "The Internationale," and the Royalists replied with the old monarchical air, "Vive Henri Quatre," while the radical majority made a feeble attempt to restore political equilibrium by tuning up with "The Marseillaise." But the Chamber showed itself pretty well united in the fight against the revolutionary spirit of the strike, and the following resolution was passed in sections by large majorities:

The Chamber resolves to refuse the right to strike to state servants, and counting upon the government to insure the working of its public services, maintaining also its resolution to give the state's servants a legal status, and confident in the ability of the government to insure the general interest of the country, passes to the order of the day.

With the Chamber thus against them, the strike leaders found strike sentiment weakening. At Chartiers and Dijon the strikers voted on the 14th to return to work. On the 15th the government proceeded to make large dismissals from the service on the ground of inciting to revolt, and still more employes returned to work. Some of the strike leaders were then declaring that the strike had become purely revolutionary. According to official statistics of the 15th there were still out on strike in Paris 1,917 employes, out of a total of 24,406; and in the provinces less than 300 men out. Dispatches of the same date stated that the text of a bill definitely regulating the right of state employes to form associations, but specifically excluding the right to strike, is to be submitted at once to the parliament, and the Senate is to be asked to proceed to the consideration of the workmen's pension bill early in June.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—The sixth French National Peace Congress is to be held at Reims, beginning on the 30th.

—The Santa Fe railroad has given notice of restoration of the 3-cent passenger rate on the 17th in Missouri (p. 447).

—The Socialist Committee of Oklahoma have arranged for a large number of Chautauqua lectures in that State by Walter Thomas Mills.

—The third annual congress of the Playgrounds Association of America (p. 470) closed on the 14th with the election of Jacob Riis as president.

—The fifteenth Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration (vol. xi, p. 203) is being held at Mohonk Lake, N. Y., from the 19th to the 21st.

—Direct legislationists are organizing the State of Washington with a view to pledging all legislative candidates in 1910 to support the initiative, referendum and recall. They are to hold a State convention at Seattle in August.

—For the settlement of the strike of Lake seamen (p. 447), which has been in progress since the 1st, the arbitration boards of six states—Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, New York and Michigan—met in conference at Detroit on the 18th.

—A prohibition against joining the State troops was imposed on the 16th by the Brotherhood of Operative Potters of New Jersey upon their members. The use of State troops against organized workmen at Perth Amboy last fall was the immediate cause of this action.

—Thomas L. Hisgen, Presidential candidate of the Independence party (vol. xi, pp. 635, 920), announced in effect in a published statement on the 17th that hereafter he will act with one of the old parties because the battle for national reforms must be fought out within their lines.

—In Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland, a commission appointed to revise the regulations relating to municipal suffrage, recommends that proxy votes

be abolished, and women be allowed henceforward to vote in person. Ever since 1864, women who had either a tax qualification or an educational qualification have had a proxy vote at municipal elections.

—George Meredith, English novelist and poet, died at his home in Surrey on the 18th, in his 82d year. Mr. Meredith was the author of "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel," "Rhoda Fleming," "The Egoist," "Diana of the Crossways," "Lord Ormont and His Aminta," "The Amazing Marriage," "The Tale of Chloë," and many other novels of the first rank.

—The 95th anniversary of the independence of Norway was celebrated at Chicago on the 17th. The principal meeting, presided over by John J. Sonstebj as president of the Norwegian National League of Chicago, was addressed by Professor Julius E. Olsen of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Halodan Koht of the University of Norway, and Governor Deneen.

—After the school teachers of New York city had secured the passage of a law requiring equal pay for equal work in the public schools, regardless of sex (vol. x, p. 146), Mayor McClellan, who has the veto power, along with the Governor, over measures affecting the city, refused his signature. This was on the 14th. His objection was that the bill would add an additional tax burden of \$17,000,000, besides "disrupting the system of tutoring."

—By a vote of 85 to 32, the Chicago Federation of Labor refused on the 16th to endorse Socialist candidates for judges. The candidates endorsed as not hostile to organized labor were Judges Thomas G. Windes, Edward O. Brown, John Gibbons, Richard Tuthill, Lockwood Honore, Charles M. Walker, George Kersten and Frank Baker, and Messrs. Edward A. Olson, Richard E. Burke, John P. McGoorty, Kickham Scanlan, Adolor A. Pettit, John T. Murray and William Brown, Jr.

—The Consolidation Coal Company, which before the adoption of the Hepburn coal act was owned by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, has acquired the entire capital stock of five coal companies and formed the greatest coal combination in the world, with approximately 200,000 acres in Maryland, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio, and a capital stock of \$37,650,000. The five companies acquired are the Fairmount Coal Company, capitalized at \$12,000,000; Somerset Coal Company, \$4,000,000; Pittsburg & Fairmount Fuel Company, \$2,250,000; Clarksburg Fuel Company, \$1,250,000, and Southern Coal & Transportation Company, \$500,000.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### The British Budget.

The Liverpool Daily Post (Lib.), May 1.—Second thoughts on the budget leave no doubt about its revolutionary character. . . . Once begin the taxation of undeveloped land, and it will probably be found to be so fruitful a source of income that, when some future Chancellor of the Exchequer is in need of funds, it will prove to be an irresistible avenue for future increase of the national income. . . . The budget is Mr. Lloyd George's answer to the chal-

lence that has been thrown down to him as a free trade Chancellor of the Exchequer, and that he was morally and politically bound to take up. The alternative to this budget, which places more taxes upon the wealthy, is a budget that would place more taxes upon the poor. The nation has to make its choice.

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The (London) Daily Chronicle (Lib.), April 30.—We congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his proposals for taxing land values and mining royalties. He has not gone the full length of our scheme, but he has made a substantial beginning, and laid the foundation for a new system of taxation. Falsifying the confident predictions of the Tory press, he provides for a complete valuation of all the land of the country. The form and extent of the trifling levies he proposes to make upon it in the current year are altogether of secondary importance beside the vital question of valuation. Mr. Lloyd George has completely justified the confidence of his friends; he has opened the door to an entirely new field of public revenue, of which the outstanding feature is its practically limitless capacity. As he very truly said, the estimate of half a million, as the produce of the three land taxes for the current year, cannot be regarded as any indication of the ultimate yield. A tax which will bring idle land into use and stimulate the development of all real property to the best advantage will not only produce a great expansion in the trade and industry of the country, but will also tend continually to enlarge the fund from which the tax itself is drawn. So far from "the resources of free trade" being "drained to the dregs," as the Times sneered yesterday, the greatest of the resources of free trade is now tapped for the first time. There can be no true freedom of trade or freedom of industry while land can be withheld from its best use—or any use—at the whim of its owner. In the taxation of land values, therefore, free trade will achieve a wider scope than before. No longer will its principle be limited to freedom in the exchange of commodities with other nations; its application to the production of wealth will bring about an advance in national prosperity only comparable to that which followed the reforms of Peel and Cobden.

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The (London) Daily Telegraph (Con.), April 30.—The issues raised by the taxation of land values are the most momentous feature of the budget. Here Mr. Lloyd George has been very anxious to secure, by an apparent and altogether illusory moderation, the insertion of the thin edge of the wedge. He expects to derive no more than half a million in the first year from this new source of revenue, but in later years the treasury, improving upon the precedent of the estate duties, will not wait until a man's death before taking to itself a large proportion of his property, but will deprive him—if he is the unhappy possessor of "unearned increment" in respect of urban land or minerals—every year of a considerable part of the capital value of the obnoxious form of property.

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The (London) Nation (radical), May 1.—On Thursday Mr. Lloyd George introduced the first great

democratic budget ever set before the House of Commons . . . The Tory press inclines to bitterness, but is clearly puzzled what and where to attack—for though wealth is made to bear the main burden of the budget no single impost is of a crushing character. This disables the Lords from their threatened attack—for the country will not rally round those who ultimately will be the chief sufferers from the budget—the great ground landlords, and the very wealthy and luxurious classes, with a small fringe of earners of high "ability" incomes.

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Land Values (Glasgow and London), May.—The Government have made a beginning with the taxation of land values in the budget. In doing this they have responded to a thousand petitions sent to them from all parts of the country. . . . With regard to valuation everything seems to have been granted. . . . This decision to carry through a systematic and universal valuation will satisfy those who were disappointed by the failure to pass valuation bills in the ordinary way through both Houses of Parliament. If, within the current year, a provisional valuation is made, by means of which some economic pressure may be brought to bear on the owners of unused and imperfectly used land, a substantial step will have been taken towards our object. The valuation, very imperfect at first, it may be, will perfect itself in course of time. From this point of view, therefore, the loss of the valuation bills is more than repaired by the present proposal. The Scottish valuation bill was to take effect in January, 1910. We hope that the valuation for the whole of the United Kingdom will be commenced before that time. . . . It will be our duty and endeavor in the immediate future to secure the imposition of a tax as uniform and universal as the valuation itself.

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#### The Single Tax Movement.

The Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (dem. Dem.), May 5.—Almost at the moment that Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd-George was presenting his budget providing for the taxation of land values in Great Britain, the finance committee of the German Reichstag was voting in favor of taxing the accrued value of real estate between one sale and another. This so-called taxing of the unearned increment has already been adopted in more than one hundred German towns and now apparently it is in the way of being adopted as a part of the Imperial system, although the government opposes it, preferring an increase in the death duties, including an estate tax and the extension of the existing legacy tax to direct heirs. The German plan is less comprehensive than that proposed by the British government, but where it has been adopted it has had a salutary effect, tending to check speculation in land and serving sensibly to lower rents and to increase opportunities. It marks the first step in the right direction and the rest is merely a matter of keeping on. That this normal source of revenue should now be relinquished after it has once been opened is wholly improbable. That it will be drawn upon more and more with increasing public needs is reasonable certain. It is enormously significant that these two

great Imperial countries should both be treading pretty much the same path toward the same end. For the end that is ahead, although it may not be in contemplation, is the overthrow of land monopoly, the destruction of the greatest privilege in the world, the privilege which a few enjoy of making their fellows pay tribute for occupying and using the earth. Perhaps neither the Liberals of England nor the Conservatives of Germany at this moment entertain any purpose of wiping out landlordism. They may be actuated solely by a desire to obtain more revenue without piling additional burdens upon labor and capital. But even so, the effect of the policy they are proposing to adopt will be exactly the same as if it were designed expressly to discourage land speculation and ultimately to wipe out landlordism. Even a very small tax on the value of land will have a tendency in Great Britain to break up the huge estates which have been depopulated and rendered almost wholly unproductive. Many of the great landlords will suddenly discover that they are land poor and some of them to avoid bankruptcy will be compelled to sell off parts of their estates. Thus opportunity will become less restricted. Labor and capital will be in correspondingly better position. Rents will tend to decline and wages to rise. And so clear will be the good results of a tentative step in the right direction that an increasing pressure for further advances along the same line will surely follow.

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The Philadelphia (Daily) Record (ind.), May 3.—A direct tax on land values is the latest development of political finance in Great Britain. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd-George, who is an advanced radical, has included the revenue to be raised from a tax of this character in his budget estimates for the coming year. The amount expected to be raised from this source is small, only half a million pounds sterling, yet his proposal is considered a revolutionary one. . . . The new scheme of taxation, despite its apparent moderation, foreshadows (so say the opponents thereof) another advance in the direction of socialistic legislation. The accrued value of land, as expressed by the difference between its present purchase price and its selling price at the next transfer, is unearned increment. The unearned increment is the objective of the single tax theorists of the Henry George school. The Chancellor of the Exchequer intends just now to reach only that part of the unearned increment which is represented by values recently accrued, or that may accrue in the future. But, if the correctness in principle of such a tax be admitted, it would be but a short step from a levy on a part of the unearned increment to a tax levy covering the total of unearned land values. This has, in fact, been the result of a tax on accrued values adopted by a considerable number of municipalities in Germany.

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Topeka (Kansas) Daily Capital (Rep.), May 6.—Joseph Fels, the well known English manufacturer, has shown his faith in the taxation of land values ("single tax") by offering a quarter of a million dollars in annual installments to further the land tax

propaganda in this country and Great Britain. Mr. Fels is a comparatively recent convert, like a large sprinkling of leading Englishmen, who are alarmed over the problem of English taxation. . . . Naturally the land-value tax is making more substantial headway in the United Kingdom than here. . . . The ordinary sources of revenue have been struck so hard to keep up the fearful naval program and to supply the modern demand for old age pensions, relief of poverty and other semi-socialistic requirements, that the Government has this Spring come forward with the first actual proposition of the land-value tax. It is somewhat hidden away in the proposed budget, but it is there. . . . —and the entering wedge of the "single tax," in a provision for a 20 per cent tax on the increase in land value during the year, with a tax of half penny on vacant and unused land, mineral lands and royalties. The English government begins cautiously the "single tax" system, the estimate being that it will produce at once but about 2½ million dollars. The significant thing is that a land value tax on the "unearned increment" due not to the owner's enterprise, but to the growth of society, now actually appears in a British Chancellor's budget speech. It is either this for England, or going back to protective tariffs. Free trade, crowded to the wall, throws down to protection the gauntlet of the "single tax," and the contest is fairly on between the landlords and the people of England.

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#### Impossibilistic Socialism in England.

The (London) Nation (radical), April 17.—Those who would weigh the significance of the differences in the Independent Labor party which the Edinburgh Conference revealed would do well to ask themselves what its enemies think of them. For ourselves, we are quite sure that all those who fear the action of organized labor in politics, while they greatly dislike Mr. Keir Hardie's and Mr. Macdonald's management of it, would be only too delighted to hear of their supersession by Mr. Grayson or Mr. Hyndman. For they would know that any such party would, in a very few months or years, become as negligible a factor as the Social Democratic Federation, as sincere and ardent, as passionately perverse, and as absurdly ineffective. For that reason we cannot take the retirement of the four chief leaders of the movement, in face of an unlucky resolution, to be other than a tactical and very temporary emergency. . . . To many students of politics Mr. Hardie and Mr. Macdonald have seemed to err on the side of intransigence rather than of opportunism. But they have certainly kept to the clear path of progress in holding firm to democracy, and insisting that the rational conquest of opinion in Parliament, which they began in 1906, and the moulding of national policy outside of it, shall be carried to its legitimate end.

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#### Anarchy Under the Shadow of Yale.

The New Haven Union (dem. Dem.), May 15.—Chief Cowles did more for anarchy and more against personal liberty in New Haven in a short half hour last night than Emma Goldman could do if she stayed in this vicinity and talked all her life. It

is very evident that the chief sought legal advice before he made his move of last evening. He did not attempt to prevent Emma Goldman from speaking, as he said he would. Somebody told him he had no right to do that. He let Miss Goldman and her escort into Colonial Hall and then he lined the doors with police officers and refused to let anybody else in. What legal plea the chief will urge to excuse this outrageous action upon his part will be awaited with interest. We hope Dr. Reitman and Miss Goldman will make a test case of this matter. We urge this not because we abhor anarchy less, but because we value the doctrines of free speech and the right peaceably to assemble, more. . . . New Haven can well blush to-night that it has for her chief of police another of those good intentioned fellows among the nation's police authorities, who, lacking common sense, are doing more for anarchy than Miss Goldman ever has done, or ever can do.

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#### Our Relations With Mexico.

La Follette's (ind. Rep.), May 1.—With the freedom or slavery of the people of Mexico we may at this time take the position of having nothing to do. But with the treatment of political refugees from Mexico, we are greatly concerned. If Mexico is under a despotism, that is her affair. If she is making of our courts agencies for sending back or driving out from our midst revolutionists guilty of crimes merely political, that is our affair. The nation that sheltered Sigel and Schurz and the refugees of Ireland and Hungary, and which has just liberated Puren and Rudowitz from the pursuit of Russia, must not be blinded by friendship for the republic of Mexico, nor by the interests of capital in Mexican investments to the necessity of maintaining here an asylum for political refugees from all lands.

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#### Self-Government in Porto Rico.

The Washington (D. C.) Herald (ind.), May 12.—It may be true that the Porto Ricans have made a mess of it, as Mr. Taft declares, but is it best to cure the failure by relieving them of responsibility, or by allowing them to shoulder their own burdens and learn through failure, as we are doing? They ask for a larger measure of self-government; Mr. Taft replies by recommending that even that which they have be reduced. The response of Congress to this recommendation will be an interesting contribution to the development of our colonial policy.

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The Milwaukee Daily News (ind. Dem.), May 11.—Mr. Taft thinks that the Porto Ricans are not worthy of self-government because the lower house of the Porto Rican legislature—the only body representing the Porto Rican people—has refused to vote appropriations as a protest against the course of the upper house, an appointive and unrepresentative body, in refusing to sanction legislation demanded by the people. It may be that the Porto Ricans are incapable of self-government, but their refusal to vote supplies for the representatives of the Washington crown does not necessarily establish their unfitness—indeed, it suggests that they may be eminently

fit to exercise the power. For it is the power that the lower house is expected to use in an emergency to force obedience to the people's will. That is the only value that attaches to the control of the purse. It is a power that has made the House of Commons the dominating factor in the British government. . . . If our own House of Representatives had exercised the power that has been conferred upon it by the Constitution, if it had acted as the traditions of Anglo-Saxon government demanded that it should act, it would not now find itself reduced to the impotent, characterless and contemptible place that it occupies in our scheme of government.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### THE OLD VINE STREET CHURCH.

(Cincinnati.)

For The Public.

You have buffed with the vagrant years  
Deep in a dark old town,  
But now (for the judgment nears)  
You will topple and crumble down.

For swift to the hurrying street,  
The thundering tides of trade  
Have set where your ancient seat  
Tryst with the seasons made.

And the symbols wax and stand  
Heavily, girt with power,  
That few in a new-wrought land  
Were new in your natal hour;

Till quest for the inch of room—  
Breadth of a breathing space—  
Has traveled the length of doom  
And struck at your resting place.

But your spirit will not fall  
Here with the brick and stone  
Where at the first low call  
It answered for truth alone;

No, but ever still,  
Sallent, vital, strong,  
Still as the days fulfill,  
Summon the right and wrong.

W. S. ROGERS.

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#### MAX HIRSCH.

The Interesting Career of a Man Who Was True to  
Himself. From the Melbourne (Victoria)  
Argus of March 5, 1909.

Genuine and widespread regret will be felt at the news of the death of Mr. Max Hirsch, which occurred at Vladivostock early yesterday morning.

Mr. Hirsch was born at Cologne on September 21, 1852, and was educated at the Gymnasium of that city and at the University of Berlin. He came of a family of recognized ability in science,

literature, and politics, and his father had a European reputation as a writer on economic subjects.

As a youth Mr. Hirsch was of a venturesome and enterprising disposition. At the age of 19 years he was sent with a credit of \$50,000 to Persia, with a view to carrying out his project of securing from the Turcomans carpets of great historic interest. The Russian authorities treated him as a spy, but after great difficulty he reached Khiva with his camels, and returned to England with carpets, which realized a very large sum at Christy's. Some of these carpets dated back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. One was purchased by the Crown Princess of Prussia, and another is now included among the treasures of Windsor Castle.

Mr. Hirsch then made a tour throughout Europe, completing his art studies in Italy, and between 1872 and 1879 travelled all over Europe, northern Africa, and western Asia as a representative of leading British linen manufacturers, his powers as a linguist proving of great advantage. In 1879 he came to Sydney as a representative at the Exhibition of that year of British and Continental firms, and in the following year he came to Melbourne for our Exhibition.

After a short stay here he made a lengthy visit to Germany, and then went to Ceylon, where he was engaged in coffee-planting. His ever-present desire to remove burdens unfairly imposed was strikingly illustrated in Ceylon. A heavy rice or "paddy" tax was driving the native cultivators off the land in large numbers, and causing misery and actual starvation. His sympathies were actively aroused, and he wrote pamphlet after pamphlet directing attention to this injustice. After two years of unremitting zeal he succeeded, with the help of the Cobden Club, in having a resolution passed in the House of Commons abolishing the tax.

In 1890 he finally determined to settle in Victoria, and in 1892 he abandoned business pursuits, bracing himself up to strenuously fight for free-trade principles and land values taxation. It is from this period Mr. Hirsch will always be best known. He achieved far more than an Australian reputation.

Even his political enemies were forced to admit the power of his commanding intellect, his argumentative strength, his lucid, eloquent powers of expression, his indefatigable industry, which never left a subject until every detail had been mastered. His unquenchable desire to get at the heart, the whole truth, of the matter in hand; his unmeasurable scorn for the miserable, unfair, dishonest tactics of opponents; and his comprehensive sympathy for human suffering and misfortune, attracted enthusiastic admirers from all quarters.

Mr. Hirsch made several attempts to obtain a seat in Parliament. As with all strong men, he encountered violent, unmitigated political rancor

of the worst kind, but in 1902 he was returned for Mandurang. As a member of the Legislative Assembly, until he resigned in November, 1903, to contest the Federal district of Wimmera, Mr. Hirsch always commanded attention. His speeches were marked with great powers of thought and expression, and, had he chosen, he would have continued a member of that House, but his ambitions were in a Federal direction, where he could expound those free-trade principles of which he was such a master. He was beaten by about 160 votes in December, 1903, by Mr. Pharez Phillips for the Wimmera, and in 1906 he was again unsuccessful for the same constituency.

Mr. Hirsch was an exceptionally able lecturer and writer. His lectures a few years ago in Melbourne against socialism were marked with his usual ability, and attracted large audiences. Published in pamphlet form, they have had an extensive sale, not only in Australia, but also in Great Britain and Europe. His numerous publications on the fiscal question showed unrivalled powers of condensation of materials drawn from all quarters.

His greatest effort, the result of many years of strenuous work, was his book, entitled "Democracy and Socialism," which is now the text book in several universities, and has considerably enhanced his European reputation. He was also a contributor to some of the English magazines. A work on the land question was just completed, and the manuscript is in the hands of a friend in Melbourne.

In October of last year Mr. Hirsch left, accompanied by a private secretary, on a mission to Siberia, in connection with the Oriental Timber Corporation, in which he had a large interest. He had a number of difficult, delicate negotiations with the Russian government, which he had carried out with his customary skill and ability, and the utmost satisfaction of the corporation.

Had Mr. Hirsch devoted his close attention to business pursuits he would have attained much wealth, but he rejoiced in sacrificing himself for objects which he honestly considered would ultimately be for the public advantage.

On Monday last a cable message was received stating that he was seriously ill, and yesterday morning information came to hand that he had died at Vladivostock.

Mr. Hirsch was never married. He was an honorary member of the Cobden Club, a very enthusiastic member of the committee of the Queen Victoria Hospital for Women, and for some time correspondent in Victoria for the British Board of Trade. His friends are anxious that some permanent memorial should be made of the great public service he has so ungrudgingly rendered to his adopted country, and in admiration of a fine type, marked by unflinching honesty of purpose and a daring rectitude.

## FREE TRADE SCIENTIFIC.

From an Address Delivered by Byron W. Holt at the Annual Dinner of the Free Trade League, in Boston, April 29, 1909.\*

In discussing the subject, "The Significance of a Sound Physique," at a meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Dr. Dudley A. Sargent of Harvard said: "Man's success in self-development has been greatly aided by the division of labor and the ability to co-operate with others."

This statement of a scientific deduction furnishes a key-note, it seems to me, for similar conclusions in regard to trade and commerce. "Division of labor and ability to co-operate with others" tells the whole story of the world's economic progress—that is, of civilization.

There is, perhaps, no better index of civilization than is provided by the extent of the "division of labor and ability to co-operate with others" that is found in any country.

The savage has but little division of labor and co-operation. He makes his own crude hunting, fishing, mechanical and farming implements, and with them fashions his poor shelter and clothing and provides his uncertain food. As we proceed upward in the scale of civilization we find greater division of labor and more co-operation with others—that is, more exchange of products. In the highest civilization of to-day fully half of the people have ceased to produce food, clothing and shelter first hand,—that is, from land, water, forest and mine,—and are engaged in manufacturing and transporting materials, supplies and goods.

It is through the greatest possible division of labor, and the greatest possible co-operation in the production and distribution of goods, that man will attain the greatest amount of goods and comforts and most fully satisfy his wants.

This means that the reward of labor *should be* highest where there is the greatest division of labor and the most co-operation.

Generally speaking, it is true that wages and salaries *are* highest where there is the greatest division of labor and the greatest exchange of products. That is why wages are higher in this than in any other important country. In no other country is there as much labor-saving machinery, as much co-operation in producing and distributing goods, and as much freedom of exchange of products, as there is in this, the greatest free-trade country on earth.

Our forefathers may not have been well versed in the theories of political economy, but they had common sense, and they saw that freedom of trade between our States was better for each and all than was tariff-restricted trade, with meddlesome

custom houses on all State lines. It is really because of their broad statesmanship in this matter that these United States are to-day the greatest producing and consuming nation of the world. Had they all been McKinleys, Dingleys, Paynes and Aldriches, we should now have about fifty politically united but commercially dis-united and warring States; and probably their trade disputes and wars would have made continued political union on impossibility. Each would be trying to enrich itself by taxing its neighbor. Each would be crying out against the pauper labor of the other States, just as our States are now crying out against the pauper made goods of Canada and Europe. How different if Canada had been made a part of the United States!

What folly, all this protection talk that we have been hearing since most of us were born! How unscientific; how uncivilized; how contrary to nature. How much better would be absolute free trade—"the international common law of the Almighty," as Richard Cobden once wrote.

Either science, that is, division of labor, co-operation and free trade, is wrong; or protection is wrong. If economic science is right, there is no sound reason for protection in this country at this time.

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## OLD TOM HARDER REMARKS THAT—

A Monologue With a Subsidiary Flavor.

For The Public.

"Yes! Tomkins has a worry growin' on him. It ain't a real hard one, but is some like a soft corn that makes it so hard to smile an' look pleasant on a hard road. I sent him a big 'DON'T WORRY' card to put over his desk an' had him most cured, but he got hold of an article about the desperate condition of our merchant marine and had a bad relapse.

"He thinks in millions, and dreams of endless processions of subsidized steamship lines carryin' the American flag an' owned by the United Steel-Pierpont Morgan-Standard Oil Corporation, Limited—limited in everything but dividends and liberal government subsidies.

"He says that we are way behind the procession. The English and the German and the Japanese an' all the other governments that look out for the welfare of their workin' people by taxin' 'em high an' keepin' 'em from gettin' sassy by too luxurious livin', have tremendous big merchant ships that draw comfortably sized amounts from the state treasury every month or so, to make good the losses on their ordinary legitimate trade, an' so flourish like a prize heifer bein' fattened for the county fair. All these processions of treasury-fed merchant ships worry Tomkins most to death. An' all the rest of the Tomkinses in the

\*See The Public of May 7, pages 434, 435, and 449.

world are thinkin' the same way, an' I wouldn't be surprised to see our wise men in Congress make a sample appropriation of \$30,000,000 or so for ship subsidies, when they git through economizin' by puttin' some more tariff on sugar an' steel. Ma says I'm mistaken about the Tomkinses thinkin'. She says they hain't got a blame thing about 'em to think with, which seems to me to be drawin' it a little strong. I've seen some of 'em that had strong symptoms of thinks, at times.

"I feel real sorry for our Tomkins sometimes. He sets down at the table with a big lead pencil, an' figures out that every year English an' German merchant ships bring over a big lot of merchandise from foreign countries, an' that we pay 'em more than 300,000,000 dollars for the freight on this merchandise. Then he figures that if we only had some ships of our own, that we could gobble this \$300,000,000 ourselves, an' thus have the merchandise an' the freight an' the ships an' all the rest of the things to ourselves, an' the foreigners would get left out in the cold an' wouldn't have anything. Then he gits cramps because Congress don't vote a big subsidy to the Morgan-Standard Oil-Steel Corporation so they would build us some ships. He remarks to the butt end of his lead pencil, 'What business have these foreigners buttin' into the ship freightin' trade? It jest naterally belongs to us. The Lord made the Atlantic an' the Pacific oceans for a sailin' place for the American flag, an' all we have to do to carry out the designs o' Providence is to vote a big subsidy for shipbuildin', an' the Morgan-Rockefeller-Steel Corporation will do the rest.' He whispers to the gentle breezes that stir up his hair, 'We are payin' the workin' men in foreign shipyards millions o' dollars in wages every year, that ought to go into the pockets of our workin'-men. What business has these foreigners to build ships an' sail 'em on the ocean? Wasn't it "manifest destiny" from the beginnin' that we should do the ship buildin'?' An' then the breezes sigh in his ear, an' say, 'These disgustin' foreigners carry the freight cheaper than we can do it ourselves, because the lunkheaded people that do the governin' over there tax all the poor people in the country for the benefit of the shipbuilders to make up the losses in the carryin' trade. What benefit would it be to the poor people of this country to play the same game on them?' Then Tomkins gits up in his wrath an' shuts off the breezes. He hates to imagine that the foreigner loses money in the business. That \$300,000,000 looks so big at the point of his pencil that he can't forbear schemin' to git his hands on it. He draws pictures of American ships flyin' the American flag on every sea, an' of the poor foreign workin' men starvin' for something to eat an' no jobs in sight. He says to himself, 'It ain't our fault that they are hungry an' that jobs are scarce. We got to look out for ourselves. Charity begins to home,

you know.' An' then conscience whispers, 'An' always stays there.' Then somethin' that looks like a think starts up in the place where the brains ought to be, an' says, 'Of course if we can manage to git that \$300,000,000 without givin' anything for it, we will feel kind o' sorry for the foreign shipbuilders, an' kind o' comfortable to think we are so much better off than they. Maybe the feller that said we send so many dollars over there was mistaken. Maybe we send goods instead, an' if we do our own freightin' we'll lose money on the business an' have our goods left on our hands. Then we might find ourselves hard pushed to raise the money to pay the steamship subsidies. There might be some sich difficulties in the way, but it's a blame shame that we can't do all the business in the world an' take in all the profits. What's the American flag for any way?"

"What does Old Tom think? Well! If you'll let him follow the Tomkins style a minit, he'll say that Old Tom an' some others in this neck o' woods needs some subsidies right away. If we had 'em we would save all the freight money we pay to the railroads. We would have the money an' the goods, too. But where would the people be that paid the subsidies? We would run a big lobby in Congress an' pose as immaculate patriots like some other people that look down on us now. We would claim that the culture an' intelligence of the country ought to rule. Yes! That's about the way we'd do it.

"There's a big trouble comes right in here, though. It stumps the intelligence sometimes. That is this: In the nature o' things we can't git enough subsidies to go round. If we undertake to spread 'em out much there won't be anybody to pay 'em. They're a blame lopsided sort o' things—these subsidies. You have to cover 'em all over with the flag to make 'em look respectable.

"This last think is Ma's, an' not mine. But it looks reasonable: If you tax all the people for the benefit of some of the people, somebody's bound to lose out. If you let some o' the people put their hands into the treasury for the benefit of all the people, somebody's sure to git left in the scramble."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

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## BOOKS

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### BUSINESS ECONOMICS.

**Enterprise and the Productive Process.** By Frederick Barnard Hawley, B. A. (Formerly Treasurer of the American Economic Association). Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Price, \$1.50, net.

Frankly written "from the point of view of the entrepreneur," this book has to do with business economics, rather than political economy. From the point of view of the entrepreneur, the specu-

lator in production, there are really but two economic categories: the entrepreneur is in one, and everything else in the other; and the author does little or nothing to dispel that notion.

Entrepreneur logic is sometimes so well represented as to seem almost satirical. For instance, at page 207 it is argued for the notion that labor does not produce all wealth, that the statement "labor produces all things" is the equivalent of "the laborer is the only one who does anything." This depends of course upon the sense in which the words are used. If "labor" and "laborer" both mean hired workman, they are equivalent; so if "labor" and "laborer" both refer to useful work. But in no such sense does the author use the terms. He quotes "labor produces all things," from those who refer by "labor" to all human effort usefully applied; but when he defines this as equivalent to "the laborer is the only one who does anything," he means by "laborer" hired workingmen. It is logically somewhat as if one should say that there isn't nearly as much horsepower in mechanical motion as is supposed, because horses supply only a small proportion of mechanical power. This is a small matter, perhaps, but if the author should admit that the power which produces all wealth is labor power, very important props would fall out from under his entrepreneur philosophy.

The author's idea that a patent right and a store of goods are economically the same thing, is decidedly entrepreneurish; but it loses sight of the most important of all distinctions—that between an industrial product, which is in the category of a store of goods, and a governmental power, which is in the category of patents. If we put both into the same category, we should have to put laborers in along with them were we to return to the slavery regime.

Some economists have multiplied capital by confounding goods with titles to goods, all in the same category. The dairyman who owns a \$50 cow, for instance, has that much capital, and the money lender with a mortgage of \$25 on the cow

has half as much again, making a total of \$75 of capital with nothing more substantial to show for it than a \$50 cow. In business economy, this is all right enough, for in business economy the dairyman and the money lender each thinks of himself, entrepreneur fashion, as the center and sum of things. But in political economy, which considers them together as a political or social whole, there is only \$50 of capital, namely the cow; for the capital the money lender owns is part of the same capital which the dairyman possesses and of which he owns the residue. Our author, however, drops the cow out of consideration altogether, and makes capital nothing but investment, or title, or purchasing power. In a final analysis this method would probably not serve the entrepreneur theory as well as the other; but it seems to serve as well to confuse the reasoning of the author himself.

The book is a plausible and by no means unreadable plea for things as they are—special privilege and all.

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## PERIODICALS

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A review at length of the progress of direct legislation appears in Bryan's *Commoner* for May 7. In his comment, Mr. Bryan says: "By whatever name it may be described, it means the bringing of the government nearer to the people—the making of the government more responsive to the will of the people."

+

The first issue of Norman E. Mack's "National Monthly" (p. 406) fully meets the promise of its prospectus. Typographically, it is a fine production notwithstanding its small type; and its purpose of representing the Democratic party, simply as an organization, is realized in the best possible way. Whether its promoters are right in supposing that such a magazine can be to the Democratic party what the other magazines are to the Republican party remains to be learned; the *National Monthly* offers a fair test. But it has seemed to us that their nom-

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## Thomas Jefferson

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inal non-partisanship is the principal element of their strength as Republican partisans.

+ + +

"Now, my dear rector, I want a little spiritual advice. You see, Mrs. Delancey goes in for Scientific Pantheism. Mrs. Van Giltner goes in for Swamism, and Mrs. Simpkins for New Thought. Now,

can't you tell me what is the very latest thing in religion?"—Harper's Weekly.

+ + +

The old gentleman in his heart did not object to the young man as a son-in-law; but he was one of that kind of men who like to raise objections first and then reach an agreement as though conferring

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a favor. When the young man called he was ready for him.

"So," he interrupted fiercely, almost before the suitor could commence, "you want me to let you marry my daughter, do you?"

The young man very coolly responded:  
 "I didn't say so, did I?"

The old gentleman gasped.  
 "But you were going to say so?"

"Who told you I was?" inquired the applicant, seeing his advantage.

"But you want me to let you marry her, don't you?"

"No."

"No!" exclaimed the old gentleman, almost falling off the chair.

"That's what I said."

"Then what the mischief do you want?"

"I want you to give your consent," replied the youth pleasantly. "I am going to marry her, any-

how, but we thought your consent wouldn't be a bad thing to have at the start."

It took the old gentleman a minute to realize the situation. When he did he put out his hand:  
 "Shake hands, my boy," said he. "I've been looking for a son-in-law with some pluck about him, and I'm sure you'll do first-class."

—Chicago Police and Fire Dispatch.

+ + +

"Kitty," said her mother, rebukingly, "you must sit still when you are at the table." "I can't mam-

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ma," protested the little girl, "I'm a fidgetarian."—Chicago Tribune.

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"What are marsupials?" asked the teacher, and Johnny was ready with his answer.

"Animals that have pouches in their stomachs," he said, glibly.

"And for what are these pouches used?" asked the teacher, ignoring the slight inaccuracy of the answer. "I'm sure that you know that, too."

"Yes'm," said Johnny, with encouraging prompt-

ness. "The pouches are for them to crawl into and conceal themselves when pursued."—Youth's Companion.

+ + +

"It was as much as I could do to keep from laughing when Miss Guscher remarked that her fiancé was 'so versatile.'"

"Meaning Dumley? Well, he is rather versatile."

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